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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east.

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 231 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

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TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore.

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity.

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948).

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence 533 Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. 756 He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [354] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merrian and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community 533 from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the